

# "ZOOMING THE CITY: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE" INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

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## PANEL 1: "DIVIDED" CITY

### SUSANNE FEHLINGS - PANEL DISCUSSANT

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*Her research interests include economic and urban anthropology in the South Caucasus and Central Asia as well as trade links with China. She has conducted fieldwork in Kyrgyzstan, Crimea, Armenia, Georgia and China. Currently she is the PI of the Volkswagen Foundation funded research project "Informal Markets and Trade in Central Asia and the Caucasus".*

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### NINO AIVAZISHVILI-GEHNE

*Nino Aivazishvili Gehne holds a PhD in social anthropology from the Martin-Luther -University Halle-Wittenberg (Germany) and is a researcher at the Research Centre for the History of Transformations (RECET) in Vienna. She has published about themes related to citizenship, borders, ethnicity, public and religious ceremonies. In her current project, "The Search for the 'Good Life' in Germany (Osnabrück)", Aivazishvili Gehne examines the societal perception of migrants from the former USSR in Germany and its consequences. The focus is on migrants' own agenda and proactive practices.*

#### THE TALES OF A "GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD": POST-SOVIET IMMIGRANTS IN A GERMAN TOWN

The term neighborhood refers not only to people but also to a neighborly space: houses, courtyards and the doors that are open. It is the space where one feels socially and morally safe and secure. Having good neighbors is very often a key to a "good life", especially when it comes to re-orientation in a completely foreign environment after migration. Based on a social anthropological perspective, my contribution focuses on a specific location, the Schinkel district in Osnabrück, Germany. Particular emphasis lays on people from the former USSR, a group that migrated to Germany in larger numbers in the early 1990s. Media and populist discourses often paint migrant neighborhoods as "problematic places", as places of increased insecurity and crime – images also relevant in the case of Schinkel. But what do the residents of such localities think about their own places of residence and about their neighborhoods? Migrants bring with them certain ideas from their old living environments to their new places of residence and have thus already established certain moral concepts for themselves as to what a "good" neighborhood means or can mean. To what extent do the pre-imagined values they brought with them come true after migration? And what do people do to make the environment around them more familiar and pleasant? In line with current migration research, the chapter analyzes migrants' relationships as embedded in multiple networks. The question at this point is, to what extent the clubs, associations, meeting places, or other social infrastructures in the district were and are important for understanding and shaping the notion of a "good neighborhood".

### HASMIK KNYAZYAN

*Hasmik Knyazyan is a junior researcher in the Department of Contemporary Anthropological Studies at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia. She studied Ethnography at Yerevan State University and continued her second MA at The European University at Saint Petersburg, faculty of Cultural anthropology. Her main studies and research interests cover the anthropology of memory, anthropology of Soviet everyday life, and visual and urban anthropology.*

#### "HANGING OUT LAUNDRY BY "RULES AND REGULATIONS": CITY YARD AS A "PANOPTICON"

Looking attentively at the laundry ropes hanging out along the windows, balconies in the streets and yards of the Armenian urban settlements, your local, cultural competency surely will let you identify special regularities (color combinations, size equality, sequence, hanging direction, age/sex factors, the position for underwear on the rope, etc.) in the way clothes are hung. In the perception of many Armenians, this kind of aesthetic factor in this day-to-

day practice, indicates the qualitative features of the people hanging their laundry, and it can even be an indicator of a family moral image.

The purpose of this research is to explore the social and cultural aspects, as well as the historical context hidden behind this regulated practice. The study concerns the anthropology of Soviet everyday life, and it touches upon gender and semiotic issues of material objects.

This research is based on years of observations, survey of visual and media sources, the analysis of personal experiences, and thematic interviews with housewives of different ages in Yerevan, Stepanakert, Gyumri, and Talin cities.

The research shows that apart from its obvious meaning (drying clothes), these kinds of "rules and regulations" of laundry hanging, contain additional meanings in the culture of Soviet Armenia and its everyday life. Clothes on the laundry ropes have become a special sign system especially due to those demonstrativeness in the conditions of the highly regulated daily life of industrial cities. Being especially common to women, the way the clothes are hung tells us about the transformation of gender roles within the "Armenian family". The results of the study also show some specific perceptions of public and private spaces (common to "panopticon" (Foucault)) of urban yards of the ruralized cities."

## **LEVON ABRAHAMIAN**

*Levon Abrahamian is a cultural anthropologist and heads the Department of Contemporary Anthropological Studies at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA. His research interests include Armenian ethnography, urban studies, protest movements, comparative mythology, and archaic cultures.*

### **FROM "GUARDS" TO WARD AUTHORITIES: ORGANIZING SOCIAL SPACE IN YEREVAN (FROM LATE 1950S TO NOWADAYS)**

The organization of social space in Yerevan started being taken into consideration in the late 1950s, when the so-called gvardias (guards) were created to reduce the reputation of "thieves in law". Later in the future, it became necessary to neutralize the "guards" with the help of specially created druzhinas (squads). The role of the "guards" and similar further structures in shaping the social space of the city is discussed (teenagers of the "cold and dark years" (early 1990s), who providing levy (stolen) electricity, the role of ward authorities in elections, and quarters' passability as a result of the "table" trade). The research is based on in-depth interviews, archival and autoethnographic materials.

## **SMBAT HAKOBIAN**

*Smbat Hakobyan is a PhD student at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography. The topic of his research is funeral rituals in contemporary Yerevan. He mainly focuses on the discursive and practice aspects of the ritual.*

### **FUNERALS IN YEREVAN: RURAL OR URBAN RITUAL?**

The "dispute" between rural and urban funerals is one of the widespread discourses in contemporary Yerevan. On the one hand, people criticize urban funerals as luxurious, prestigious, and demonstrative, as they are linked with funeral houses, restaurants, funeral services, and wreaths in this discourse. On the other hand, rural rituals also get criticized due to their massive participation and big funeral receptions.

Based on observations from recent years, I would say that generally, the boundaries between rural and urban funerals have become vaguer – rituals with a lot of participants, big funeral receptions, and even money collection and listing have become traditions in many urban funerals. In villages, one can now witness funeral services, funeral houses and receptions being gradually organized in restaurants. Despite this dichotomy in practices on the discursive level, people still seek the "proper" way of funerals, which for some of them is rural and for others urban. Both discourses blame each other to be very prestigious and luxurious, which mostly relates to the economic aspect of the ritual. In this research, I will attempt to show what are the hallmarks of rural and urban discourses in funeral rituals and why they are related to the idea of prestigiousness.

## **SAYANA NAMSARAEVA**

*Sayana Namsaraeva is a senior research associate at the Mongolia & Inner Asia Studies Unit at the University of Cambridge, working on the ESRC funded project 'Resource frontiers: managing water on a trans-border Asian river'. After graduating in China Studies at the University of Saint Petersburg, she did her MA degree in Comparative Ethnography at National Chengchi University (Taipei). She was awarded a PhD degree in Political and Cultural History of Pre-modern China at the Institute of Oriental Studies (Moscow, RAS), held research positions at Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Halle, Germany) and taught as a lecturer at the Institute for Studies of Religions and the Central Asia at the University of Bern (Switzerland). Throughout her academic career, her research interests embrace a wide range of topics in Mongolian and China studies, Buryat Diasporas and Kinship, Continental Colonialism and Border Studies, with a particular attention to border cities and border spaces along the China-Russia border. She teaches a course on 'Borders and Borderlands in North Asia' for Inner Asia Paper at the Department of Social Anthropology. She speaks English, Chinese, Buryat Mongolian and German fluently, and reads classical Chinese and the Mongol bichig.*

### **ARCHITECTURE OF WAR AND EXCLUSION OR REMAKING "FRONTIER URBANISM" IN A RUSSIA-CHINA BORDER TOWN**

Border towns (as well as borders) are usually places of increased control and surveillance. And architectural thinking in such places reflects duality of the border dwellers' lifestyle - they are civilians and they are militants at the same time. Wendy Pullan (2011) coined a special term "frontier urbanism" to talk about this division and fragmentation of physical and social structures of the border cities between the urban/civilian body, paramilitary suburbs and fortified "no-man-land" or the 'dead zones' surrounding it.

Similarly, my paper discusses a phenomenon of 'frontier urbanism' which still dominates a border town of Zabaikal'sk situated at the Russia-China border and the ways this growing town is utilizing and absorbing paramilitary frontier spaces around it for commercial needs of the border trade with China. Ironically, cemented trenches and fortified bunkers built against Chinese nowadays are sold to Chinese border traders. However, I will argue that attempts to remake architecture of war and exclusion in Zabaikal'sk into architectural fusions in commercial and housing renovations lead to 'architectural confusion', when its true military potential cannot be disguised behind decorative architectural accoutrements. Moreover, taking into account a rising militarization of the Russian state nowadays, fortified bunkers converted into houses can be easily again remodelled into military bunkers – so called 'DOTs' and 'DZOTs' - combat emplacements and firing-points. Thus, I think it is worth suggesting that in attempts of remaking 'the post-socialist City' (Alexander & et al 2007; Kinossian 2012), Zabaikal'sk failed to develop as a trade hub comparable with its twin city Manzhouli (a border town standing on the Chinese side of the border), and the worst impact of frontiers (such as restricted border mobility, restrictive trade regulations, enlarging of the military personnel) continues to restrain development of its civilian body.

## **PANEL 2: URBAN LANDSCAPE**

### **MARIA GUNKO - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Maria Gunko is DPhil Candidate at the Center on Migration, Policy and Society, School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography University of Oxford (UK) working on the project "Emptiness: living capitalism and democracy after postsocialist" (European Research Council). Maria holds a Master's degree in Human Geography (specializing in land use management) from the Lomonosov Moscow State University (2012) and a Candidate of Sciences degree in Human Geography from the Institute of Geography Russian Academy of Sciences (2015).*

*She was a visiting research fellow at the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography (Leipzig, Germany) in 2015 and at the Géographie-cités Lab CNRS / Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (Paris, France) in 2019. Maria's prime research interests are related to urban planning and policymaking, placemaking, urban shrinkage, ruins & ruination, as well as the anthropology of the state. She was the PI of projects The role of local initiatives in the regeneration of Russian*

*peripheral small and medium-sized cities (2018–2020, Russian Fund for Basic Research), Enhancing liveability of small shrinking cities through co-creation (2021-2022, ERA.Net RUS Plus / Russian Fund for Basic Research). Maria's research is featured in such journals as Cities, European Planning Studies, Geografiska Annaler, Series B: Human Geography, Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space.*

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### **ELITSA KAPUSHEVA**

*Elitsa Kapusheva is a social and cultural anthropologist, about to finish her masters in Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes at the University of Vienna. Her main academic focus is on Peace and Conflict Studies and Environmental Anthropology. Regionally, she takes special interest in the Balkans and the South Caucasus, which gives her a strong impetus for conducting her upcoming master thesis research in Armenia.*

#### **FROM ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE CITY TO ANTHROPOLOGY FOR THE CITY**

By building upon reflections from two past studies – on city markets in Plovdiv, Bulgaria and social-housing politics in Vienna - this paper explores how anthropological insights, methodology and collaboration can actively react to pressing urban issues. Using the open questions that emerged from those previous works, I discuss how we can try to re-purpose certain concepts and use them as instruments for participatory action research, and how this bears the potential to unravel new dimensions of social relations and practices of city-making against the backdrop of contested urban spaces. This input aims to spark discussion on how anthropological research can contribute to the solution of current societal needs, resulting from urban challenges. It also sparks a discussion about how anthropologists can actively engage with strengthening agency and social networks by bridging scholarship of the city with applied research for a more just and inclusive urban development.

### **EVANGELINE MCGLYNN**

*Evangeline McGlynn is a PhD candidate in Geography at the University of California Berkeley. She also holds a masters degree in Design Studies from the Harvard Graduate School of Design. Her research interests include political ecology in settings of disaster & war, in addition to critical methodologies. Outside academia, she is a professional cartographer and GIS specialist.*

#### **RUINS AS LANDSCAPE: URBAN METHODS IN A POST-DISASTER CITY**

More than 30 years after the devastating Spitak earthquake, the city of Gyumri remains replete with the physical remains of structures destroyed in the disaster. In this paper, I discuss the role of ruins in the urban landscape. Speaking against the over-aestheticization of ruins as a theoretical object, I push back by discussing ways in which ruins, instead, integrate into the city surface, even resisting signification. Using information gathered through field mapping exercises and oral histories of the quake, I argue for a multi-faceted, historically contingent understanding of ruins. To do this, I will first propose a typology of ruins as they exist in Gyumri, while simultaneously advocating to sit with some of the unsettling ambiguous ruins present in Gyumri in particular. From there, I will describe the spatial footprint of Gyumri ruins, selecting specific examples across the city of individual ruins construed in radically different ways. The paper will conclude with a provocation about the constant process of de-and-re-familiarization necessary to study ruins as part of a larger urban landscape.

### **MARGAR HMAYAKYAN**

*Margar Hmayakyan is an art historian and archaeologist. He has a PhD in Arts. He is a junior researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of NAS RA. His scientific interests include history and art of Urartu, contemporary art, and the expertation methods of cultural values.*

## **LANDSCAPE IMPROVEMENT AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIONS IN IJEVAN CITY DURING IJEVAN SCULPTURE SYMPOSIA**

It is known that sculptures play an important role in the development of the city. The statues are usually placed in the squares, completing the artistic decoration of the city, the urban landscape, or on the basis of which particular area of the city is formed (the temple once had the major role). Moreover, they are not only objects of artistic formation, but also separate attributes. One of the best examples of this is the "David of Sassoun" Square, the main part of which is the bronze statue of David of Sassoun. The sculptures, particularly the monumental and decorative statues placed in the open air, have propagandistic, patriotic and educational purposes. Such were the huge statues of Lenin and Stalin, well known to us from the USSR period, placed in the most beautiful places of the city, which after the independence of Armenia were replaced by statues of people symbolizing the country's history, heroism or symbolic-monumental compositions. These statues significantly differ in content, but at the same time they are united by their purpose - the influence on human thinking and worldview in general. The tendency to place such statues is typical of almost all the cities of the world. The statues of this group were contrasted with the abstract sculptures typical of the artistic directions of modernism that have been widespread since the beginning of the 20th century. The works of organic sculpture, and then the various installations, differed from traditional statues not only in expressiveness and content, but also in symbolic figures that were criticized and opposed to statues with traditional figures. The problem of the so-called incompatibility of traditional and abstract statues was solved through sculptural symposia. The best example of that in Armenia is Ijevan's international sculpture conference. It is the largest sculpture symposium ever held in Armenia, during which 113 stone statues were created by 78 Armenian and foreign sculptors and it can rightly be juxtaposed with such prestigious events organized abroad.

### **TORK DALALYAN**

*Tork Dalalyan is a linguist-folklorist. He earned a PhD in Philology in 2002. He is the head of the Folklore Theory and History Department at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography (NAS, RA). He has edited about a dozen academic collections and books, as well as authored more than 100 academic publications in Armenian, Russian, Persian, English, and Spanish. The areas of his research include Armenian Folklore Studies, Comparative Mythology and Linguistics, and Epic Studies. He also works in the sphere of traditional narratives and archetypes which influence the identity formation processes among different peoples (Armenians, Kurds, Yezidis, and Ossets) in the region.*

### **RIVER AND WATER IN BORDER SITUATIONS OF THE YEREVAN CITY INTERDEPARTMENTAL AND FESTIVE LANDSCAPES**

Classically, Yerevan is not considered to be a "river" city, as there is no large navigable river flowing through the city. However, Hrazdan and Getar rivers and a number of small and medium-sized canals have left their mark on the city's identity, the toponymic landscape (cf. Getar Street, Hrazdan Highway, etc.), as well as on the inter-district relations and the festive life, childish games. The presentation will mainly focus on the cross-border situations, which are reflected in the inter-district, inter-quarter, and sometimes even in-city interethnic contacts, as well as in unusual, festive situations. The presentation is based on personal field observations that were once made among children, "from within," both in school and street environments. It is known that the river is reckoned to be in mythological perception as a border between the "our" and the "foreign" spaces, or between the "human" and the "demonic" worlds, i.e. between this world and the "underworld". In this sense, the river plays a significant symbolic role in the children's micro-space where it emphasizes their own borders and shapes local "identities".

## **HAMLET MELKUMYAN**

*Research Fellow, Dep. Contemporary Anthropological Studies, IAE NAS RA*

### **GETAR RIVER IN THE FRAME OF YEREVANIAN IDENTITIES AND URBAN MODERNIZATIONS: IN BETWEEN URBAN TO ANTI-URBAN**

The Getar River is one of the landscape components of Yerevan and it's Small Center, as well as for the Ring Garden in the City. Because of the various urban development projects in the area of the small center, the river now is almost completely concreted. However, in the flow of memories of the older generation, who lived in Yerevan, Getar is perceived as one of the key symbols of the downtown. The anthropological research of Getar aims to understand how the city's inhabitants on one hand, and city development projects on the other, interacted with the river at different stages of the urban space modernization of Yerevan. The Research focuses on the issues of whether the transformation of the urban area only changed the physical condition of Getar or its connections to social life as well. It also focuses on the symbolic perceptions of the river, as well as the emotional and ecological daily life of the people related to the river.

During the social and urban modernizations of the Yerevan Center, new urban landscapes and identities were transformed or formed. These processes are also reflected in Getar's biography, as the River has become a border between different opposites, for example: 1) old and new urban landscapes, 2) competing prestige and different identities, 3) urban and anti-urban opposition, 4) love and a feeling of disgust.

To study these issues, I recorded materials through observations, biographical interviews, oral history, mind maps, and digital anthropological methods. For the analysis of the materials I tried to use the theoretical discussions on urban identities and borders, urban everyday life, ecology, social prestige, anthropology of emotions. I still was left with the problem of concretizing theoretical approaches.

## **PANEL 3: GYUMRI: IMAGES AND NARRATIVES**

### **ANDREY IVANOV - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Andrey Ivanov - Member of the Union of Architects of Russia. Member of the Russian Urban Planner Association. Member of ECOVAST (the European Council for the Villages and Small Towns). MSc in Urban Management & Development from Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS)/Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands. Expert on the problems of legal zoning, the preservation of the historic environment, and the vernacular heritage. The current field of activity is the analysis and development of the urban development potential of the industrial zones of Moscow. Extensive working experience with the urban heritage of historic cities of Russia and the CIS countries, and participating in international urban heritage conservation projects under the auspices of the EU, Council of Europe, USAID and the World Bank. Author of several books (Gyumri: The Vernacular of the Black Tufa. Yerevan, 2021; (And)Yerevan. Studies on the Spirit of Place: Collected Essays. Yerevan, 2014; Two Gogolya. Median Streets of the Late-imperial City (Odessa / Baku). Moscow, 2010, etc.), and over 200 articles in research collections and professional magazines (including over 20 articles on the foreign languages – Armenian, English, Polish). Architect, urbanist, researcher, writer. Professor of the International Academy of Architecture, Moscow Branch.*

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## **KARINE BAZEYAN**

*Karine Bazeyan is a Doctor of Science in History, a Senior scientific worker at Shirak Armenology Research Center of National Academy of Sciences, assistant professor at the Armenian State Pedagogical University after Kh. Abovyan. Her scope of Academic Interests include Ethnology and Folk Arts. She is the author of 2 monographs and 90 articles*

## **TORGOM AGHANYAN**

*Torgom graduated from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography NAS RA. He has a PHD in ethnography-Dynamics of inland modifications of the city of Alexandrapol-Leninakan-Gyumri (from historical-cultural perspective).*

## **DYNAMICS OF INLAND MODIFICATIONS OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRAPOL-LENINAKAN-GYUMRI (FROM HISTORICAL-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE)**

Gyumri is a city with unique Armenian features, the creation, establishment and development of which is presented in numerous and diverse sources, including scientific and popular literature. Originally built as a city of strategic importance and with a clear urban plan, its area has grown steadily due to the influence of various demographic as well as economic, cultural and political factors.

Gyumri is clearly distinguished by three stages of its historical development, in terms of the peculiarities of urban culture, which are expressed in the three names given to the city. According to that, a number of characteristic features of spatial/structural organization of the city stand out for the given period of which express both the approaches of the state policy in this issue, and the degree of participation of its urban population.

This article attempts to present both state and popular approaches to the territorial and administrative division of the city, in the three stages of its formation and development. This will be discussed in detail.

The district divisions of Alexandropol according to ethnic, interethnic groups and confessional characteristics, which were predominant in the formation of the newly formed city.

The study will also discuss the role of the economic factor in the transformation of Leninakan as a developing industrial city with a new “working” culture and the newly built districts.

The process of elimination of consequences of the earthquake which took place in Gyumri, as well as the reconstruction works in their entirety gave the city a new image.

### **GAYANE SHAGOYAN**

*Gayane Shagoyan is a leading researcher at the Department of Contemporary Anthropological Studies of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia. She was educated at the Yerevan State University (MA, 1995, Department of History, Chair of Ethnography) and received her PhD in anthropology at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography in 2010. The areas of her research interests include Armenian traditional and contemporary daily life, urban studies, and anthropology of memory. She is the author of about 100 publications including “Seven Days and Seven Nights: Panorama of the Armenian Wedding”, 2011, Yerevan: “Gitutyun”, 618 p., “The Camcorder Operator As a New Character in the Armenian Wedding” (Anthropology & Archaeology of Eurasia, 2000, 38 (4): 9-29) and “The Memorialization of the Earthquake in Gyumri” (Antrpologicheskii Forum, 2009, 11: 328-369, etc*

### **URBS RIDENS. GYUMRI AS A LAUGHING CITY OF THE "COMICAL MODERNITY"**

Anthropological studies of laughter as the emotion of social communication first refer to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (Bakhtin: 1965). In urban studies, the phenomenon of laughter is more likely to be discussed in relation to medieval settlements, especially in the late Middle Ages (Darnton 1984). However, recent research shows that laughter and satire are one of the most effective means of building a modern city (Critchley 2004; Billig: 2005; Hakkarainen 2019). In this respect the cities having the reputation of "witty" settlements are especially interesting. This is different from the fact that, in urban folklore, certain cities are attributed to the jokes' wandering plots, reflecting the changes in the political situation. For example, a large number of former Soviet jokes, the heroes of which were of different nationalities (Armenians, Georgians, Azeris or Russians), in the post-Soviet period, attribute the same plots to the inhabitants of different cities of Armenia. In the paper, I will not focus on the problem of getting those images, but I'll treat the expression of humor, which becomes a characteristic of urban identity, based on the case of Gyumri. The perception of this city as a settlement populated by “witty people” is as much “pan-Armenian” as the “inner-city” one.

The formation of the “laughing” image of the city can be conventionally divided into seven layers, which reflect the socio-cultural history of Gyumri:

1. Immigrant urban communities vs. a local village community
2. Humor based on group stereotypes: mapping the boundaries between the religious, ethnic and former city communities

3. "Praise the head": the artisan and commercial humors
4. Figurative speech as an urban language of communication: Gyumri as an extended public space
5. Subordination of the settlements according to the Soviet administrative system: the dominance of urban identity over "national", "ethnic", and "religious" ones
6. The institutionalized humor (the city image transmission to the mass culture: films, TV shows, exhibitions)
7. Commercialization of humor (humor as a city tourism brand).

The discussion of these layers of urban image development in the paper is a try at conceptualizing such an approach to urban study.

## **VARDAN JALOYAN**

*Vardan Jaloyan is a critic of art and literature.*

### **TO THE GENIUS LOCI OF GYUMRI. HOW THE ARTIST CREATES THE LOCAL SPIRIT**

Since the 70s of the last century the concept of genius loci has actively been used in various fields of culture. Russian culturologist A. Ivanov wrote about Yerevan's genius loci. But surprisingly, no genius loci has been written about in Gyumri. A. Ivanov wrote about the genius loci of Yerevan from the point of view of architectural phenomenology. As for Gyumri, we have chosen a different approach: how the artist creates the local spirit, and the local genius.

## **GAYANE AGHABALYAN**

*Gayane Aghabalyan holds a bachelor's degree in English and Communications from the American University of Armenia (AUA). She is currently a graduate student studying Education at the University of Glasgow. Gayane is a Teaching Associate at AUA for the Gender & Social Change and Learning, activism, and social movements courses and a research assistant in a collaborative oral history project mapping traces and memories of genocide in Armenia's urban landscapes. Gayane's research work is based on oral history methodology and explores the relationship between her grandfather, an engineer, and his buildings.*

### **BUILDING NARRATIVES INTO GYUMRI: AN ENGINEER'S TALE**

This research studies the relationship between an engineer and his buildings. It aims to unravel how his recollections of the past and the desires for the future stay implanted in these structures. The study is done through a set of oral history interviews with my grandfather who worked as an engineer for over 45 years in Gyumri and has built and led the construction of numerous buildings. This research concentrates on five specific sites – Gyumri Railway Station, National Polytechnic University of Armenia Leninakan Branch, Black Fountain, Kumayri Tour Center, and Shirak Hotel. Each of these places has gained new meanings for my grandfather and has become symbols and milestones both in his personal narrative and the collective and cultural history of Gyumri. The research also aims to be a self-study of my relationship with my grandfather. How did it change during this research? How do his stories combine with mine? Did his stories change the way I perceive Gyumri?

## **PANEL 4: REMEMBERING THE CITY**

### **MARCELLO MOLLIKA - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Marcello Mollica holds a Ph.D. in Social Sciences from the University of Leuven (2005) and a European Doctorate Enhancement in Peace and Conflict Studies (2007), from the University of Deusto. He is an Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology at the University of Messina. His research interests include religious and political violence, ethno-religious minorities, and political mobilization. He has conducted fieldwork in Northern Ireland, South Lebanon, Eastern Turkey, Occupied Territories and Israel, and South Caucasus. He has published his work in peer-reviewed books and journals. He serves as Executive Secretary of the Commission on Urban Anthropology (IUAES).*

## **HARUTYUN MARUTYAN**

*Harutyun Marutyun is a social/cultural anthropologist. He is the Director of the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation, and the Head Researcher at the Department of Contemporary Anthropological Studies of Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia (part time). He received his first PhD from the Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Moscow), and his second PhD from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography in Yerevan in 2007. His research interests include Armenian Genocide memory, national identity transformation, modern national movements, iconography, traditional Armenian culture, and poverty. Harutyun Marutyun is the author of three monographs (The Interior of the Armenian Traditional Dwellings (second half of the XIX - beginning of the XX century) (Yerevan: Academy of Sciences of ArmSSR, 1989, in Russian); The Role of Memory in the Structure of Identity: Questions of Theory (Yerevan: Noravank, 2006, in Arm.); Iconography of Armenian identity. Volume 1: The Memory of Genocide and the Karabagh Movement (Yerevan: Gitutyun, 2009, in Arm. and in Engl.); as well as a contributor to five collective monographs (among them: Armenian Folk Arts, Culture, and Identity. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001; Stalin Era Repressions in Armenia: History, Memory, Everyday Life. Yerevan: Gitutyun, 2015 (in Arm.). Marutyun also authored more than 150 scholarly articles.*

### **ARMENIAN GENOCIDE MEMORIAL COMPLEX AS A SITE OF MEMORY: THE SITUATION 55 YEARS AGO AND NOWADAYS**

Yerevan is 2800 years old and, as such, is one of the oldest existing, living cities in the world. At the same time, it is very young but cannot be compared to much younger cities at all, where features of at least the last 100-200 years are almost intact. Time never stops and puts its stamp on everything, including architectural features in old and new cities. In one place, socio-political developments result in the radical transformation of a particular feature; in another it leads to renovation; in a third, it remains almost unchanged, at least according to basic criteria. Yerevan, I think, is in the first group. In this case, huge problems arise in connection with the preservation of monuments consisting of separate historic districts or monument-buildings and memorial complexes. They are resolved, in many cases, in favor of the developers but, in others, developments are simply due to what is dictated by new conditions. What developments have taken place in the Armenian Genocide victims memorial complex since its foundation? To what extent have they been conditioned by changes in the life of Armenian society in general?

The memorial complex to the victims of the Armenian Genocide is not a static structure. Having been the center of attention for decades, acquiring the functions of a "site of memory" (lieu de mémoire) due to its nature, it "lives" a certain unique life, which is first of all conditioned by the changes that have taken place in the life of society. It is natural that developments that take place in memorial complexes are often opposed by the architects who created them, sometimes justifying their disagreements with the "monumental" status of the structures they've created, which, as a rule, exclude additions to the existing complexes.

## **GOHAR STEPANYAN**

*Gohar Stepanyan has a PhD in Cultural anthropology. She is a researcher at the Department of contemporary ethnology of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences. The frame of her anthropological studies includes traditional and modern feasts, rituals and commemoration ceremonies, as well as rural and urban sacred landscape (public and familial shrines) and religious practices. The other scope of her scientific interests is mainly related to the organization of urban leisure and entertainment practices.*

### **"SMALL CITY, BIG LOVE": THE CITY-FAMILY IN THE URBAN NARRATIVES OF DISPLACED INHABITANTS OF SHUSHI**

Urban studies has long bypassed small towns, seeing them as urban "others" against the backdrop of global cities that tell the story of what cities should be like rather than how urban history has evolved (Bell 2009). ): Shushi is an "other" city, which is already defined by its own inhabitants as a small city, regardless of the contradictory definitions given to small towns until this day. And in the discourse of the beginning of the 20th century, it was often described as the "Little Paris of the Caucasus", meaning, first of all, that Shushi was a center of trade, handicrafts and culture.

After May 9, 1992, when it came under the control of the Armenian forces, Shushi became a home for highly heterogeneous newcomers, who made up the majority of the city's population (Dabaghyan, Gabrielyan 2004). In their urban narratives after the 44-day Artsakh war, Shushi was already presented as a city-family, showing a number of features, which, as a rule, are considered specific to small towns. The typical family/human dimension for Shushi makes sense from the perception of the city as its own child to the modernity of family markers of urban space, which finds its often emotional expression in the urban narratives of the inhabitants of Shushi.

## **HAGOP CHOLAKIAN**

*Hagop holds a PhD in History. He is the Chief Researcher at the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences and Lecturer of Western Armenian in the Yerevan State University. He has more than 50 works in linguistics, ethnography, philology, historiography, and Diaspora studies. He also has two series of textbooks in Western Armenian consisting of six books and several dozen scientific articles. He has extensive ties with the Haigazian University of Beirut and the educational circles of the Diaspora.*

## **THE CITY OF LATTAKIA BETWEEN 1840-1920**

Lattakia, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, is an ancient settlement of the Phoenician Ramatha. Seleucids, in the fourth century B.C. renamed it Laodicea. Then it passed to Tigran the Great, and then Romans, Byzantines, Ummayyads, Abbasids, Fatimites, after which it passed to the Seljuks, the Crusaders, the Ayyubids, the Memluks, and to the Ottoman Empire between 1512 -1918.

Lattakia has never lost its significance as an administrative town and a port, despite its population undergoing major changes. At the beginning of the 19th century, it was an Islamic city with a small minority of Greeks and Armenians. The Arabs, the Kurds, and the Turks were a major part of the Islamic community. Alawites almost had no rights, and they didn't even have the status of a 'millat'.

Lattakia was influenced by the rule of Ibrahim Pasha of Egypt from 1832 to 1840, when Christians took advantage of the trade arrangements, and played a major role in the administration of the city, the harbor, and the court. Latin and American missions with their educational, health, social and cultural activities left a major influence on the perceptions and relations of the Lattakia population. Russia, France, England and the United States of America had their ambassadors here. The city became a mutasarifate in Beirut vilayet: In the 1870's, the French tobacco company was established. Armenians from Izmir and Constantinople had their businesses in Lattakia. They played a major role in organizing the remaining population of the faithful section of the Armenian Apostolic Church. The Supervisor of the Armenian church of Lattakia was appointed second after the Catholicos of The Holy See of Sis. The Armenian neighborhood was called the 'Hokedun', which would later be known by the locals as 'Kitun'.

Lattakia had an agricultural environment. The mutasarifate had many towns populated by Armenians, Greeks, Kurds, Turkmen, and Arab Sunnis. The vast majority of the villages were vassals, and they would work in the lands of the chieftains. The raw materials were gathered in Lattakia. To this day, there are two incidents which are still ingrained in the history of the city. In 1909, nearly 7000 Armenians from the Kessab region crossed the border and took refuge in Lattakia, where they received the necessary help and care. Then, there are the memories of the 1915 genocide, when all the Armenians of Lattakia and surrounding villages were exiled. The remaining survivors returned to their homes in 1920.

## **ZARUHI KEVORKOVA**

*Zaruhi holds a BA degree in English and Communications from the American University of Armenia. Currently, she also works as a teacher's assistant at AUA's Center of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Oral History: Collecting Life Stories course. Zaruhi's research is mostly based on oral history and explores material memory and personal stories related to objects.*

The presentation addresses material memory in the scope of post-soviet Armenia. In the age of capitalism when individuality is highly propagated, the sovietized objects and spaces have lost their initial symbolism. They no longer enforce the Soviet ideology of a collective, but silently carry the remnants of it. Nonetheless living in a visually changed, “modern” city, the urban life on the inside is often unknowingly connected to the Soviet era, through simple material objects.

Me, being born in already independent Armenia, use these objects and see them as a part of my life, as I have created memories and have stories connected with them. But at the same time, these objects are an essential part of my parents’ and grandparents’ lives as well. They have their own memories, and their own stories. Objects carry these stories and become a part of an inter-generational conversation. This research study and art installation born out of it follows and delves deep into these stories and memories. They explore collective memory in the context of household objects and items and present them through an interactive experience in a Soviet apartment often lost in the contemporary landscape of Yerevan.

### PANEL 5: (IN)FORMAL URBAN TOPONYMY

#### ARSÈNE SAPAROV - PANEL DISCUSSANT

*Arsène Saparov was educated at Central European University in Budapest and holds a PhD in International Relations from the LSE. He was a Postdoctoral fellow at CNRS, France and at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, where he taught Russian and Caucasus history for four years during which he published From Conflict to Autonomy in the Caucasus: The Soviet Union and the Making of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh (Routledge 2015). He is currently an Assistant Professor of at the department of International Relations Department at the University of Sharjah, UAE. The research interests include the Soviet nationality policy, Russian Foreign Policy and ethnic conflict in the Caucasus. Recent academic publications include: “Contested spaces: the use of place-names and symbolic landscape in the politics of identity and legitimacy in Azerbaijan” in Central Asian Survey, 2017, Vol 36:4 and “Re-negotiating the Boundaries of the Permissible: The National (ist) Revival in Soviet Armenia and Moscow’s Response” in Europe Asia Studies 2018, Vol. 70:6.*

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#### NELLI MANUCHARYAN

*Nelli Manucharyan has been part of the Department of Contemporary Anthropological Studies since September 2014 and is also a Ph.D. student at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia. Her research interests include the processes of identity construction in Soviet Armenia in the period of 1920-1953. Her publications refer to: the place re/naming, as a strategy of reconstruction of the symbolic infrastructure of a society, nation-building and state formation in Soviet Yerevan (1921-1939); the main forms and methods of peasant anti-kolkhoz resistance in Soviet Armenia in the era of mass collectivization also as an instrument for peasant identity preservation; the practices and notions of folk religious rites, particularly of secret baptism (knunk) rituals in the midst of state atheism in Soviet Armenia. In 2016- 2017 Nelli was a Carnegie Fellowship NCEEER holder at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University.*

#### "DISPLACED" TOPONYMS IN SOVIET ARMENIAN URBAN SPACE

The scope of toponymic studies is constantly expanding to include representatives from sociolinguistics, cultural geography, anthropology, history, urban studies and other scientific fields. But let us dwell a little on the semantic definition of toponymy. The landscape consists of space elements carrying no subjective meaning. And these space elements become places when we attach the meaning to them, as Claude Levi-Strauss indicates: spaces become places when we name them. Toponyms are names for places, which signify geographical elements within the landscape, and mark the place identity.

Toponymy, i.e. the study of place names (toponyms) has been studied from different perspectives. Recent studies draw attention to the relationship between toponymy and power (Myers, G.: 1996; Azaryahu M.:1996), stressing out

the fact that toponyms are not just abstract names in the urban space, but represent a system of state-public relations, through which urban identity is formed (Berg L., Vuolteenaho J.:2009). Others emphasize the importance of place names as a strategy of nation building and state construction, demonstrating how governmental authorities construct new regimes of toponymic inscription to present specific ideas of history and national narratives (Cohen S., Klot N.:1992; Azaryahu M., Cook R. : 2002; Yeoh B. S.:1996):

In spite of the above-mentioned research, there has been little investigation on the relation between power and toponymy of the Communist cities (Saparov A.: 2003). Studies of the socialist city were rather inclined to focus on the formal and informative aspects of the Soviet toponymy (Neroznak V.P., Gorbanevskiy M.V.:1991; Pospelov E.M.:1996; Nikitin S. A.:2001) and less attention was paid to street/district names as one of the major systems for implementing the Communist/Socialist ideology in the urban space.

With the establishment of Bolshevik power in Armenia, a large-scale process of naming / renaming of places began. To institutionalize the new regime, the government used the urban landscape to represent socialist ideology and values to the citizens of Soviet Armenia (Manucharyan N.:2015). The renaming of places became one of the main tools for the legitimization of the power and also for the process of state building and identity formation in Soviet Armenia. At the same time, parallel with this, another interesting process of Soviet urban development was going on. In the middle of the 1920s the Soviet authorities made a decision to build new settlements for the Armenian Genocide survivors (Western Armenians) very close to the city of Yerevan (later these settlements became city districts). The process was interesting, first of all, because it took place within the policy of the program to ensure the repatriation of the Armenian Genocide survivors. Moreover, these settlements/districts were to carry the names of the settlements of Turkish-Armenia, becoming duplicates of those toponyms or “displaced” toponyms (Nor Arabkir, Nor Sebastia, Nor Kilikia (Cilicia), Nor Malatia, with the prefix “Nor” (New). As Levon Abrahamian mentions “in this process of the resettlement or displacement, the naming and renaming became somehow a creation or re-creation of the place” (Abrahamian L.: 2006). The urban development plans of some of those settlements were developed by Al. Tamanyan. This research examines the significance of toponyms in the frame of soviet nationalities policy, in particular the paradigm shift in soviet nation- building narratives of communist power in Soviet Armenia during the period of 1921-1953.

## **NIKOL MARGARYAN**

*Nikol Margaryan specializes in Cultural/Social Anthropology.*

*Affiliation: Institute of Archeology and Ethnography NAS Armenia (from 1993 by now).*

*Position and Academic Degree: Researcher, Doctor of Philosophy (Candidate of Historical Sciences).*

*Research experience: 35 years of experience in field ethnographic research, and participation in about 60 different research programs.*

*Teaching experience: Lecturer at Gyumri Imastaser Anania Shirakatsi University (2000 -2005) and Yerevan State University (2005-2018). YSU Associate Professor.*

*Areas of professional interest: Anthropology of names (Onomastics), non-verbal communication, gender anthropology, subcultures studies, globalization studies.*

### **"ERGONYMS AS URBANONYMS: “STRUGGLE” FOR NAMING URBAN LANDSCAPE**

The names of organizations and companies (ergonyms), in addition to conveying information about the nature of the activities of the institutions, services or owners named by them, perform an indirect function of designating different parts of the urban landscape, due to which these parts become recognizable, meaningful or memorable thanks to the ergonyms. This expansion of ergonym functions, however, is not a smooth process, since the areas that occupy the urban landscape - streets, parks, gardens, squares, quarters, etc. - usually already have official names with which ergonyms have to compete. This struggle to define the urban landscape is a hot topic for onomastic research, especially in terms of answering questions such as why the names of some categories (say, the names of companies and organizations) change to other categories (say, names of streets, of parks, quarters, squares and

gardens)? In addition, although various scientists in the field of Onomastic noted various additional functions of onyms, the fact of their orderly change was not specifically considered.

Designation of non-commercial facilities and territories with the help of ergonyms deserves study for urban research in general. Since they obviously relate to a number of important aspects of the study of cities, such as the symbolic appropriation of urban areas, the problems of orientation and communication in urban areas, the effectiveness of state and municipal naming policies for urban areas, the need to describe cities at the level of onyms. In these aspects, there are no fundamental studies of Armenian cities. A small number of scientific publications discuss important issues related to the identity and trends of the post-Soviet transformation of urban toponymy (Abraamyan N.R., Saparov A., Abrahamyan S.). However, for obvious reasons, the above aspects were not considered and, as they say, they need to be studied. Of course, it does not follow from this that in this small-scale study we intend to include an examination of all the aspects mentioned. As already mentioned in the preface to this article, the purpose of the article is to consider the ways and reasons for the expansion of ergonym functions, which will be accompanied by partial indications of some subsequent communication problems.

### **NELLI KARAPETYAN**

*Nelli Karapetyan is a Ph.D. student at the Institute of archaeology and ethnography NAS RA. Her academic interests are anthropology of education, ethnographic photographs of the 19th and 20th centuries. She works as a researcher at the History Museum of Armenia.*

### **RENAMING SCHOOLS IN POST-SOVIET YEREVAN**

The social, cultural, economic and political changes taking place in Armenia first of all made an impact on the cultural landscape of Yerevan as the capital city of the country. The biggest wave of these changes appeared after the collapse of the USSR, in the form of nation-state building. The main issue of this report is to consider the influence of ideological and political processes on the names / renamings of commemoration, focusing on the names of schools, not only as an ideological-educational environment, but also as part of the urban landscape. An attempt is made to single out several main tendencies, at the same time drawing attention to the examples taken from the general tendencies. In general, the main principle is the replacement of Soviet ideology and "heroes" with national ideology and "national heroes". One of the tendencies is to replace the names of revolutionary and Soviet figures with the names of the national liberation movement, participants of the Artsakh wars, national heroes, military and political leaders. Another tendency is to name schools after Armenian writers and artists (including Diaspora Armenians). In Yerevan, there are a few schools named after benefactors. And yet, in other schools, the "Soviet heroes" did not lose their place; in some cases, they are part of the educational, cultural and architectural landscape of Yerevan with their busts. The research is based on the analysis of historical, archival and media materials and also data obtained from the field research carried out in several schools.

### **HOURLY PILIBBOSSIAN**

*Hourly Pilibbossian is a social anthropology MA student at Goldsmiths University of London. She is a research assistant in a collaborative oral history project, mapping traces and memories of the genocide in Armenia's urban landscapes. Hourly is also the co-founder of Hi Haleb - Հայ Հայկեր:*

### **MAPPING ARMENIAN OWNED SHOPS IN ALEPPO**

Hi Haleb is a digital platform created by Hourly Pilibbossian, Saghatel Basil, Harout Mardirossian and Rajni Avagyan. The objective of "Hi Haleb" is to collect, archive and remember Aleppo's Armenian heritage. Mapping Armenian shops in Tilel is a work in progress, where we collect stories and information about the Armenian presence in Tilel. Tilel is one of the first neighborhoods in Aleppo that was wildly populated with Armenians in the early 20th century. It is host to many Armenian orphanages, schools and churches that predate the Armenian Genocide.

## PANEL 6: THE IMAGE OF THE CITY

### SAYANA NAMSARAEVA - PANEL DISCUSSANT

*Sayana Namsaraeva is a senior research associate at the Mongolia & Inner Asia Studies Unit at the University of Cambridge, working on the ESRC funded project 'Resource frontiers: managing water on a trans-border Asian river'. After graduating in China Studies at the University of Saint Petersburg, she did her MA degree in Comparative Ethnography at National Chengchi University (Taipei). She was awarded a PhD degree in Political and Cultural History of Pre-modern China at the Institute of Oriental Studies (Moscow, RAS), held research positions at Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Halle, Germany) and taught as a lecturer at the Institute for Studies of Religions and Central Asia at the University of Bern (Switzerland). Throughout her academic career, her research interests embrace a wide range of topics in Mongolian and China studies, Buryat Diasporas and Kinship, Continental Colonialism and Border Studies, with particular attention to border cities and border spaces along the China-Russia border. She teaches a course on 'Borders and Borderlands in North Asia' for Inner Asia Paper at the Department of Social Anthropology. She speaks English, Chinese, Buryat Mongolian and German fluently, and reads classical Chinese and the Mongol bichig.*

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### VIKTORYA VASILYAN

*Viktorya is a Doctor in History (PhD), researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography NAS RA, Lecturer at AUA and Traditional Medicine University of Armenia. She is the project manager of AUA's "100th Archaeological Monuments of Armenia".*

### THE FEMALE IMAGE OF THE CITY: FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO NOWADAYS

Ideas about society are almost always expressed through individual images.

People who make up the society almost always feel the need for ancestors, heroes, and one of the roles of great, famous people is to fulfill that demand. The origin of the personifications remains unclear.

Anthropomorphic symbol in the visual art was an integral part of ancient Greek culture since beginning. Accepting traditional classification, as natural phenomena (e.g. Earth, Sky, River), places (e.g. Region, Land, City), time (e.g. Month, Life-time, Season), emotion (e.g. Love, Fear), political concepts (e.g. Victory, Democracy, War) etc., question concerning their deification and its beginning, remains a complex and difficult task. The city in human form first appeared in Hellenic art, but its iconographical roots date back to earlier times. Social welfare can be associated with deified figures, such as Tyche or successive heroes of state power. Artists created these characters similar to heroes or demigods, possibly intentionally standing between divine and human sphere. One of such heroic characters for Armenia is summed up in the idea of "Mother Armenia, the capital, the hero." However, the image of "Mother City Goddess" has come a long way in our country, before it turned into the image of the Capital, starting from the heroines of Mother City Goddesses, who were presented as a humanized, personified image of Armenia.

Polis (City) could be portrayed as male or female figure, while female image was more prevailing. Close connection with male figure of Demos reflects ambivalent character of urban culture. Polis can be understood as principal unit of Greek society in whole antiquity. Personification of polis, understood as broad and diverse social, geographic and political phenomenon, can be approached by an analysis of archaeological and written sources. Defining polis in miscellaneous Hellenistic society is a complex task, especially when socio-historical context is not directly reflected by individual archaeological finds and detailed historical data. Uniform definition could not be appropriate as meaning and function of polis changed. Classical authors largely defined polis as community and territory, while autonomy and independence were obligatory.

### MARIAM AVETISYAN

*Mariam Avetisyan's academic interests are in the fields of social anthropology and war anthropology.*

### POST-EARTHQUAKE CITY RECOVERY VISIONS AND THEIR IMPACT ON CITY DEVELOPMENT

The aim of this report is to present how the reconstruction of Spitak city was planned in the post-earthquake period, what visions of the reconstruction of the city were offered, and what role the Mayor of Spitak, Suren Avetisyan,

played in this process. The idea of Spitak as a city was formed in 1960, when Spitak's industrialization was gaining momentum in the Soviet era. On the eve of the earthquake, Spitak was a small, self-sufficient industrial town. Immediately after the earthquake, the reconstruction brought a new vision of the city, which was spontaneous, unplanned, and different from previous visions. It was the conference of international aid, the unification of various architectural expressions of the world. Shortly afterwards, people wanted to return to the city where they had lived, and the mayor of Spitak, Suren Avetisyan, became the one who voiced and fulfilled that wish. These visions formed the "two Whites", which have spatial and substantive differences. The last decade has seen a new vision that aims to unite these two cities and develop them in a new direction.

## **SONA MNATSAKANYAN**

*Sona Mnatsakanyan is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Slavonic Languages and Literatures (Humboldt University, Berlin). As a PhD candidate she is a member of Friedrich Schlegel Graduate School of Literary Studies, doing research at the Cluster of Excellence Temporal Communities for the project (Post)Soviet Literary Cosmopolis. Sona Mnatsakanyan got both her bachelor's and master's degrees in Armenian Studies from Yerevan State University.*

### **READING MKRTICH ARMEN'S NOVEL "YEREVAN" IN THE CONTEXT OF SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY**

The paper examines the novel "Yerevan" by a Soviet-Armenian writer Mkrtych Armen, considering the political circumstances and ideological atmosphere of the time.

Armen wrote "Yerevan" between 1927 and 1931. On the one hand, the novel echoes the doctrine of Socialism in one country, which was adopted by Stalin as state policy in 1925, but on the other hand, it contains opposing ideas to this same policy, which could be interpreted by the Soviet censors as Trotskyist. It is not surprising, therefore, that the distribution of the novel was banned in 1933. On top of that, the author was arrested in 1937. "Yerevan" was often referred to as one of his anti-Soviet works during interrogations.

From today's perspective it is tempting to argue that this was a resistance to the government's mainstream policy and discourse. However, the reading of the novel in its historical context shows that even if some policies were questioned there, the author did not deviate much from the Stalinist challenge to the Soviet writer. The latter's task was to create an art, which would be "national in form, and socialist in content".

With his novel "Yerevan", Armen tried to contribute to the literary nation-building project. How should that be framed as national? Which elements should it include? How should the socialist content find expression in national form? How should the new perception of the national combine the past and present, the local and the global? Those were questions to which writers were looking into during the post-revolution period.

## **TIGRAN SIMYAN**

*Tigran Simyan is a professor at the YSU Faculty of European Languages and Communication, and researcher in History of German Literature, Semiotics of Cultures, Urban Studies (City in the Literature and City as Text), and History of humanitarian Methods. He lectures in History of German Literature, Semiotics and Theory of Communications, Theory of Literature.*

### **IVAN (HOVHANNES) AIVAZOVSKY: HABITUS, POLITICS OF MEMORY, "ARCHITECT" OF THE CITY**

"This paper is a continuation of the discourse about Ivan (Hovhannes) Aivazovsky. Much has been written about the great marine painter, but in the scientific literature the phenomenon of Aivazovsky as a man of the border (between the center (St. Petersburg) and the periphery (Feodosia) of the Russian Empire) hasn't been analyzed. Aivazovsky was a bearer of at least two cultures – Armenian and Russian.

The phenomenon of Aivazovsky lies in the fact that he competently fits into the memory policy of the top and center, naturally, thanks to his talent and intelligence. The artist was subconsciously ahead of the principle of the famous media magnate Keith Rupert Murdoch, who stated: think globally – act locally (1931). In his works he created transnational (universal) values, while in local actions he ennobled social and urban space. On his tombstone we

read: Born mortal, left an immortal memory behind[Barsamov, 1962, p. 145], and, naturally, it encompasses much. The mere immortal memory indicates his creative and civic activities. The purpose of the article is to describe Aivazovsky's habitus as a resident of Feodosia in the context of the imperial policy of memory, national (Russian, Armenian) and local aspects.

The main idea of the article is: Aivazovsky was not only a gifted artist but also a diplomat, a responsible and respectable citizen of his city, living by its values and problems, and for the people and the (Armenian) community as a whole.

The analysis of the empirical material showed that Aivazovsky was not only a brilliant artist but also a globally thinking and locally acting practitioner. He is a vivid example of how a person can change the infrastructure and cultural life of his beloved city. The artist's connection with the city is dialectical. He created the city in the literal and figurative senses. Feodosia and the coast were the sources of his creativity, his symbolic capital. He managed to sell the created symbolic capital to the top and with the acquired financial capital to engage in patronage, to equip his environment, his city. In other words, to be a creator of new values not only for tsarist Russia but also for his people. With his creativity Aivazovsky made the city recognizable. He made it a brand. The beauty of the periphery became acknowledged, as the artist's paintings were bought by top politicians, since Aivazovsky and his work fit into the logic of building imperial politics. From the perspective of the empirical analysis it can be concluded that the city gave birth to Aivazovsky, and he, in turn, to Feodosia. This meeting turned out to be so fruitful that it became a prerequisite for the generation of transnational values and art. In other words the periphery of tsarist Russia generated the central texts of the imperial policy of memory, and historical memory. From what has been said, it becomes obvious that the center is a relative concept.

## **PANEL 7: WARTIME CITY**

### **MIKHAIL YU. NEMTSEV - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Mikhail Yu. Nemtsev, Ph.D. in Philosophy, MA in Gender Studies. Studies intellectual history of late Soviet and post-Soviet Russia and critical theory. His interests also include analysis of ideology, Siberian studies, and, more generally, the human geography of Northern Eurasia. Previously worked as an interviewer on politics, taught philosophy and social sciences in different higher education institutions in Russia, including the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences. Collaborates with the School for Environmental and Social Studies at the University of Tyumen on a project about human geography and the environmental history of Siberia. Currently lives in Yerevan.*

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### **ARSEN HAKOBYAN**

*Arsen Hakobyan is a Senior Research Fellow at the Department of Contemporary Anthropological Studies, IAE NAS RA.*

### **MARCELLO MOLLIKA**

*Marcello Mollica holds a Ph.D. in Social Sciences from the University of Leuven (2005) and a European Doctorate Enhancement in Peace and Conflict Studies (2007), from the University of Deusto. He is Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology at the University of Messina. His research Interests include: religious and political violence, ethno-religious minorities, political mobilization. He has conducted field work in Northern Ireland, South Lebanon, Eastern Turkey, Occupied Territories and Israel, and South Caucasus. He has published his work in peer-reviewed books and journals. He serves as Executive Secretary of the Commission on Urban Anthropology (IUAES).*

### **DEIR EZ-ZOR: MEMORY AND WAR**

In our paper, we will examine how urban Armenian cultural heritage and the Genocide Memorial of Deyr ez Zor have high symbolic meaning related to identity, belonging and memory, and how they became targets during the Syrian and reproduced social and political narratives and practices. How did these practices and narratives have transnational dimensions and become the actors of political transformation?

The political representation of religious symbols is of great importance, especially when these religious symbols are associated with historical memory. It is by reference to a clear symbolism that the action of political actors and factions become understandable and the target audience could easily identify with them. The commemoration of the Armenian Genocide and its reproduction in the Memorial Complex and in St. Martyr Church is a symbolic expression of the Syrian Armenian identity. Arising from an extremely fluid social memory, Deir ez-Zor war-related events have become a means to re- activate old symbolic markers of major lieux de mémoire, related to the Genocide. On 21 September 2014, on the day of the anniversary of Armenian Independence, Jihadi- Salafi factions destroyed the St. Martyrs Memorial Church of Deir ez-Zor. We have analyzed how the Armenian narrative was constructed following the event, becoming the basis of official statements and political rhetoric in the Republic of Armenia and in the Armenian diaspora, and have seen how it has acquired a transnational dimension.

## **AMALIA DILANYAN**

*Amalia Dilanyan holds an MA in Cultural Studies from Yerevan State University. Currently, she is working as a senior assistant at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography at the National Academy of Science of the Republic of Armenia. Her academic interests are everyday life, transformations.*

### **CHANGING THE CODE: GRAFFITI AGAINST WAR**

Among the heterogeneous and multi-genre manifestations of human life, graffiti stands out for its feature of a quick reaction.

It acts as a monolithic reality that includes both text, image, information, and propaganda, while not being identified with any of the above separately. In its final form graffiti is identified as a phenomenon with an integral, internal content, and an emphasized concept. At the same time, regardless of whether the beginning of the idea is the coronavirus or the tragic Artsakh war unleashed on September 27, 2020, graffiti is in the status of a recorder and responder. Oddly enough, at first glance, evidence of this can be found in the graffiti image of a kissing couple on the wall of one of the houses on the Meeting Bridge and the silent witnesses of the war #RECOGNIZE\_ARTSAKH on the warheads of the Azerbaijani Smerch. The interesting thing is that in one case we are dealing with a conventional man-made disaster - war, while in the other, we are dealing with the transformations of graffiti to respond to a natural disaster. In one case it is a war between neighboring countries, while in the other, it is a war the whole world or humanity is waging against a pandemic. In these two wars, graffiti acts as a peacemaker, as a conciliatory, war-excluding phenomenon. In the same way, the call for the recognition of Artsakh on the Azerbaijani warhead is a call for tolerance and peace in its context, as it is aimed at recognizing the basic principle of peaceful coexistence. From this point of view, the graffiti on the "aftermath" of the Azerbaijani shelling itself changes the primary purpose and content of the bomb, which is identical with the war-militarization. It was the symbols of this demilitarization and exclusion of war that became the warheads, which were illustrated with the inscriptions "blochiks" ("bloch" - a small insect, dialectal).

## **MARGARIT HARUTYUNYAN**

*Margarit Harutyunyan is studying at YSU Faculty of History in the 2nd year of the master's program of the Chair of Archeology and Ethnography. Her academic interests are mainly in the fields of social anthropology and war anthropology.*

### **ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR: BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE GORIS REGION**

Controversies often arise in the capital but also other regions over certain realities. These contradictions are especially profound in the Syunik region, due to the border situation.

Since the 44-day war in 2020, Goris and its neighboring villages have become borderlands. Our goal is to understand what the border is according to the residents, how their overall perceptions, spatial memories, and their perceptions of Azerbaijanis have changed since then. The urgency of studying these issues stems from the interests of state-

citizen relations in order to present the realities objectively and to offer realistic solutions. The first change becomes noticeable when the residents themselves announce that Goris is under blockade from all sides. In the past, of course, such a reality did not exist, that is why the inhabitants make comparisons with the Soviet period, when even then the Turks did not live in Goris. Some parts of the 21-kilometer section of the Goris-Kapan road are problematic. After the transfer of the Kubatlu and Zangelan regions to Azerbaijan due to the war, some parts of the road now pass through Azerbaijani territories. The Azerbaijani side started waving signs and flags in those areas as well. The people of Syunik were worried about how the roads connecting the Armenian settlements were little-by-little belonging to Azerbaijan. This was based on Soviet maps, because even during the Soviet Union, Azerbaijan and Armenia roads traveled together. However, this fact is problematic among the residents. Residents' comments on the border vary, but many confirm that Soviet maps do not lie. Some groups of residents prove it by remembering the details of those years, regarding the roads and territories. There are a number of problems here - due to the illegal actions of Azerbaijan - people were deprived even of their houses and lands belonging to the Soviet times, which caused not only social but also serious security problems. In addition, some people were unable to engage in animal husbandry, which is their main occupation, and the problem of water supply has arisen, which is especially connected with the illegal presence of the Azerbaijani military in Lake Sev. Recently, the deployment of Azeris on the Goris-Vorotan-Shurnukh road has added to a number of problems for the villages along the road. The fact that the road is no longer safe, naturally scares everyone, especially when people have been traveling down those roads for years without ever being worried. Both sides of the road are rich in flora and fauna, but due to the inaccuracy of the borders, people can't stand on the side of the road for whatever purpose. These realities had a direct impact on the people living in the border town of Goris. By collecting people's perceptions, opinions and memories, we will understand how urban realities have changed, people's perceptions. We will also understand what defensive, everyday, and social problems have arisen, and how the residents' perceptions of the future have changed, especially in a city so far from the capital.

## **PANEL 8: CITY AND RELIGION**

### **ALEXANDER AGADJANIAN - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Alexander Agadjanian is a Professor at the Center for the Study of Religion, Russian State University of the Humanities, Moscow; and a Research Fellow at Yerevan State University. His fields of interest include religion in the modern world, in particular in Russia and post-Soviet Eurasia. He authored or co-authored *Understanding World Christianity: Russia* (Fortress, 2021); *Turns of Faith, Search of Meaning: Orthodox Christianity and Post-Soviet Experience* (Peter Lang, 2014); edited *Armenian Christianity Today: Identity Politics and Social Practices* (Ashgate, 2014); co-edited *Religion, Nation and Democracy in the South Caucasus*, 2015); *Parish and Community in Russian Orthodoxy* (Ves' Mir, 2011, in Russian); *Eastern Orthodoxy in a Global Age* (Altamira Press, 2005).*

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### **SIMON HMAYAKYAN**

*Simon Hmayakyan has a PhD in Science in History. He is a senior researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography NAS of Armenia. His scientific interests include Urartology, the art history of the Ancient world, and the history of civilizations. He is the author of approximately 150 scientific articles.*

### **ABOUT THE RELIGION AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE TOWN POPULATION OF ARGISHTIKHINILI**

Argishtikhinili has two citadels, one of which is located within the territory of Armavir village, on the hill named "Saint David". The chapel which is located here is still a place of pilgrimage. The eastern fortress is situated on the hill named Armavir, where a "susi" temple stands dedicated to the god Haldi. A cross and a chapel standing in front of the latter had been places of pilgrimage until 1936. Between these two fortresses and in their vicinity, the large town of Argishtikhinili was located.

The location of the necropolis of the eastern citadel is not known, whereas the necropolis of the western citadel is located within the territory of Nor Armavir village. The major part of the tombs recorded and excavated here are pithos burials, which appeared in the Ararat valley, when this region (called Vaza) became a part of the Van Kingdom. The mentioned burial forms belonged to the people, whom king Argishti I resettled from Khate and Tsupa pri-Euphrates lands and who ended up settling in Erebuni and Argishtikhinili cities in the 8th century BC.

It is noteworthy that these people had preserved their identity here for more than a century. In other words, an urban community was formed in Argishtikhinili, which had deep religious roots, as well as a priesthood. No cases of religious intolerance were observed in the Kingdom of Van, but there was an attempt to strengthen the state religion. For this purpose, eighteen cult buildings were built in Argishtikhinili, including temples dedicated to Haldi, Uarubaini and Kuera.

In addition, an inscribed text was drawn up on behalf of king Argishti I, describing how the official ceremonies of sacrifice rituals should be held in the city. Thus, the inhabitants of Argishtikhinili lived their own religious daily life, but the state sought to include them in the state-religious rites and beliefs.

### **YULIA ANTONYAN**

*Yulia Antonyan has a PhD in history/ethnography. She is an associate professor at the department of Cultural Studies, Faculty of History, Yerevan State University.*

#### **SILENT COLONIALITY: THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPES OF GYUMRI, VANADZOR AND YEREVAN**

The presentation will address the phenomena of silent coloniality in Armenia, represented by the Russian orthodox churches in the context of the urban landscapes of Yerevan, Gyumri, and Vanadzor. Religion has always been important in the colonization processes. Along with the hard, military, political and economic power, religion used to develop an ideological context and relevant infrastructures to mediate colonization. The Russian Orthodox Church was established in Armenia in the 19th century, with the purpose of not only satisfying religious needs of Russian resettlers (mostly colonial officials), but also to symbolically and materially represent imperial power. During the Soviet time, the presence of the Russian orthodoxy had been strongly diminished, however after the independence of Armenia and in the 2000s, along with the development of Putin's regime, one could observe the revitalization of the Russian Orthodoxy and the strengthening of its visual presence. This paper will discuss the colonial nature of the Russian Orthodox materiality in the urban environment and the turning of renovated or newly-constructed Russian churches into bulwarks of neo-colonial processes and realities.

### **LILIT GABRIELIAN**

*Lilit Gabrielyan is a Postgraduate Student at YSU Faculty of History, Chair of Cultural Studies. Her academic interests are in social anthropology and anthropology of religion.*

#### **THE FORMATION OF A PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY IN THE CONTEXT OF URBAN SPACE: THE CASE OF YEREVAN**

The purpose of this report is to present how various Protestant denominations used the city in the period following the earthquake and during the years of independence of the Republic of Armenia. The report mainly focuses on how these denominations used the material and physical spaces of the city and transformed them for their purposes: missionary work, church building and creation of social-cultural spaces. What mechanisms are currently being used to ensure the socialization and continuity of those established churches? These processes are represented in the report by the examples of Protestant communities, in particular, the Evangelical and Pentecostal churches.

### **ARA GULYAN**

*Ara Gulyan is an ethnologist. He is the director of the «Armenian Center for Ethnological Studies, Hazarashen NGO». Today his research subject is popular Christianity in Armenia.*

#### **FOUR FOLK SAINTS IN GYUMRI**

Three of the sacred places in Gyumri known to me are located in the town district of “Dzori Boghaz”, while the fourth is located in “Textile”. Among these four, only two of the sacred places in “Dzori Boghaz” have names – “Saint (Surp) Minas” and “Merel Harots”. In 2013 a chapel was built in Dzori Boghaz, replacing “Saint Minas”.

To distinguish between a church enjoying popularity among the people and a folk holy place, the connotative/tions use of the words folk and popular should be clarified. To confirm the above mentioned we should be guided by the origin of the holy place. Folk saints can name those holy places which were not founded by the church.

Officially, the ruins of the church buildings are out of use. Yet, thanks to the constant attendance of believers, they still function. That is, they have been re-established as folk holy places and can also be considered among them.

The issue of the Saint’s place of belonging or its serving rights can be disputable like in “Textile”’s holy place. The Saint may not belong to any family as Dzori Boghaz’s unnamed Saint. The narrator knows that it is their family’s Saint, the home patron, but not their property.

A believer’s trust in the folk holy place doesn’t mean they oppose the church. The problem of choice emerges depending on the conditions of the pilgrimage and the importance of the ritual. The Armenian Apostolic Church doesn’t oppose the popular holy place, either. In fact, the new “Merel Harots” building was anointed by a priest.

Narrators don’t use the word holy place, they say – Saint. The place is the Saint, the Book is the Saint, the small house is also the Saint. An elderly woman sees a bright ball in her dreams and says she saw the Saint.

Removing the Saint is forbidden. The Saint of “Merel Harots” (the Gospel) was once taken to be put under the head of a sick woman. The Saint then appeared in her dream and threatened her. Accordingly, the gospel was returned to its original place. Now the gospel isn’t there – one of the heirs has taken it to Russia. But the small house still exists, and it is the Saint.

In this case the question arises. Doesn’t the narrator realize that there are obvious, contradicting facts in her talk or doesn’t the researcher comprehend the essence of the popular Saint, and due to it notice the discrepancy. It can be inferred from the narrator’s speech that she doesn’t see any contradiction, and the researcher has at least to give a hypothetical answer to the question.

### **PANEL 9: POSTINDUSTRIAL CITY**

#### **LORI KHATCHADOURIAN - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Lori Khatchadourian is an Associate Professor of Near Eastern Studies at Cornell University. Her research uses the methods of archaeology and ethnography to study the relations between people, politics, and the material world of objects and landscapes, with a particular focus on Armenia and the South Caucasus. Dr. Khatchadourian has written extensively on the archaeology of early empires, and is the author of Imperial Matter: Ancient Persia and the Archaeology of Empires (2016). Her current research focuses on the ruins of modernity and the archaeological record of the 20th century. Dr. Khatchadourian also co-directs Caucasus Heritage Watch, a research initiative that documents and monitors endangered and damaged cultural heritage in the South Caucasus using high-resolution satellite imagery.*

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#### **ANUSH JILAVYAN**

*Anush Jilavyan is a Postgraduate Student at YSU Faculty of History, Chair of Cultural Studies. Her academic interests focus on urban anthropology. She works as a research assistant at the R-Insights research company.*

#### **FROM KIROVAKAN TO VANADZOR: URBAN SPACE TRANSFORMATION**

"The study of the former Soviet industrial cities is a topical issue in the framework of anthropological research of the city. The processes that transform the city, through which the post-Soviet city is formed, are especially important.

Vanadzor or Soviet Kirovakan is of great interest from this point of view, because in addition to the political and economic processes related to the post-Soviet transition, the 1988 Spitak earthquake had an impact on the city. The study is an attempt to show the impact of these factors on the physical space of the city, as well as the transformations that took place during the transition from the Soviet to the post-Soviet era.

Thus, the research presents the layers that carry the physical space of the modern city from Gharakilisa, which was a settlement in the Russian Empire, on the basis of which the industrial Soviet Kirovakan developed. This process unites the official and public perceptions on the development of the city, the organization of space, and the overcoming of the crisis during the transition period.

## **GARIK ATANESYAN**

*Garik Atanesyan holds a PhD in Cultural Anthropology from Yerevan State University (Armenia) and is a researcher in the Department of Ethnosociology at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the National Science Academy of Armenia. The scope of his research interests includes memory studies, urban anthropology and anthropology of tourism.*

### **CHANGES OF THE IMAGE AND URBAN IDENTITY OF VANADZOR IN THE CONTEXT OF POST-INDUSTRIAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE CITY**

After the collapse of the USSR, Kirovakan city, the industrial giant of Soviet Armenia, lost almost all of its industrial potential. The city also suffered from the Spitak earthquake, the Artsakh war, and the difficult socio-economic situation that followed the independence of Armenia. Despite the institutional, social and economic transformations that followed the post-communist transition, the city has been struggling to find new economic bases for the development of the city and making their urban infrastructure more attractive for investments. Over the past two decades, the local authorities of Vanadzor have started rethinking the Soviet past, reorganizing spatial identities and reshaping the image and economic future of the city. However, this process has lacked intra-city dialogue and the buildings of abandoned factories that remind the citizens of the industrial glory of Kirovakan, the Soviet nostalgia, the remnants of the Soviet urban identity of Kirovakan, the lack of prospects for economic development of the city. The difficult social situation deepens the crisis of urban identity of Vanadzor even more. This research discusses the changes of Vanadzor's urban identity and the image of the city in interaction between public and official discourses and the transformation dynamics of urban change. The changes in the architectural and symbolic images and urban identity of post-Soviet Vanadzor and the issues of official and public perceptions and expectations of the perspectives of the development of the city were viewed within the framework of the concepts of "urban identity" and "identity of city". The research is based on expert and in-depth interview, non-participant observation and news and social media materials.

## **MILENA BAGHDASARYAN**

*Milena Baghdasaryan holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. She is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Archaeology and Ethnography, NAS RA, and is a Lecturer at Yerevan State University. Her research interests include forced and labor migration, nationalism and minority rights, political ecology, social movements, citizenship, and gender.*

### **“JERMUK WILL NOT BECOME A MINE!” TOWN’S SPA ECONOMY AND STRUGGLE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE**

Since the 1960s, the town of Jermuk in Armenia grew to become a popular center of medical tourism. The economy of the town has had a profound impact on the lifestyle of its residents, many of whom have chosen professions associated with medical tourism. The economy of Jermuk and the lives of its residents are entwined with the surrounding nature in multiple ways. In spite of economic ups and downs, the mineral water springs, the pristine nature (including protected areas) and the developing infrastructure continue to attract tourists, providing the

residents with sources of income through work in sanatoriums and water-bottling industry, renting their apartments, arranging tours, selling local goods, fishing and so forth. The residents and the tourists alike appreciate the calm of the town along with its other attractions.

When the plans to exploit a gold-mine in close proximity to the town became known to the residents of Jermuk and some surrounding villages in 2010-2011, they were the first to raise concerns and objections to it, and were soon joined by environmental initiatives and activists. While the concern with the negative impact of the mine on the town's medical-tourist economy is prominent, it is not the only one shared by the residents. Interviews reveal numerous residents' heightened awareness of the connection between human health and the environment, their profound appreciation of the natural resources and their concern with protecting them from pollution. The argument concerning the potential of the mine to extinguish the economy of the town and deprive the residents of their livelihoods in the long-run has been an important part of the struggle against the mine. The paper explores how the residents view their town, its economy and the surrounding nature, and how these views have impacted their struggle to prevent a mining project in the town's proximity.

## **HAMLET MELKUMYAN**

*Research Fellow, Dep. Contemporary Anthropological Studies, IAE NAS RA*

### **SOVIET UTOPIAN POLITICS AND POST-SOVIET MODERNIZATIONS OF ATOMIC CITY**

Metsamor was built in the 1970s in Soviet Armenia because of the existence and operation of the Nuclear Power Plant. Considered a "closed" town, it was the outcome of the last stage of Soviet urban planning as a system of utopian visions. The town bears idealized or utopist characteristics of a socialist city. Moreover, it is a unique example of urban development, given that the settlement was completely conceived, designed and built by only one architect. Perception of this "ideal" social and urban space, shaken after the first residents experienced "reality" issues related to housing and product supplies. Metsamor is a try to implement the imagined Soviet Union's ideas and visions through an idealized urban landscape, where a "right" soviet social environment should appear. However, through the everyday life practices of the locals in Metsamor city, one follows the existing gaps between Communist governments' ideology and its institutional implementation on the ground.

The Soviet politics of modernization was striving to emphasize the scientific and technological utopist future of the city. While Soviet modernism was striving to emphasize scientific and technological advancement, in the post-Soviet period, modernization took the path of emphasizing and reinventing nationalism and religiousness.

## **PANEL 10: DAILY LIFE OF THE CITY**

### **ANNA SOKOLOVA - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Anna Sokolova is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences since 2013 to present. She also worked as a Research fellow on Contemporary Political Folklore monitoring team at Russian Presidential Academy of the National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA) in 2015 – 2016/ Anna Sokolova has gotten her education from Zurich University, Switzerland (2017-2021) The defense of her second PhD thesis is scheduled for September 2022 (PhD Student in SNF funded project "Late Soviet Village: People, Institutions, and Things Between the Socialist Cult of Urbanity and Ruralisation of Urban Life Styles". Research titled "State Institutions and Everyday Life in Timber Production Workers' Settlements in late Soviet Karelia". Joint supervisors: Professor Ekaterina Emeliantseva-Koller, Historisches Seminar, Zurich University and Professor Julia Lajus, Higher School of Economics - National Research University, St. Petersburg.*

*She defended her first PhD in Anthropology at N.N. Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences in 2013. The title of her PhD research is: "Transformation of the Funeral Rites of Russians in the Twentieth Century - the Beginning of the XXI Century. (on the materials of the Vladimir region)". PhD thesis. Moscow. 303 p. (In Russian). Supervised by Dr. Tatiana Listova.*

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## **AGHASI TADEVOSYAN**

*Aghasi Tadevosyan is a PhD in Cultural Anthropology. His main research interests are cultural transition and value transformation, modernization, anthropology of social changes, civil movements and migration processes of post Soviet Armenia. He is a Senior Scientist at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of Armenia. Tadevosyan is also a lecturer at the Department of Cultural Studies of the Yerevan State University and was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the University of California at Berkeley for the 2012-2013 academic year.*

### **A LOOK FROM THE POSTMODERN PRESENT OF A SMALL TOWN TO ITS POST-SOVIET MODERN PAST BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE CITY OF SISIAN**

The present report discusses the modernization processes carried out in parallel with industrialization in one of the small cities of Soviet Armenia between 1970 and 1980.

The modernization of this city was initiated and carried out in accordance with the official Soviet policy: a cinema building, a palace of culture, a restaurant and other standard facilities for a small Soviet town were built to organize the free time and leisure of the emerging urban population.

In parallel with the establishment of state entertainment facilities and formal cultural events to manage the leisure time of the urban population, similar practices were developed in society that were outside the scope of formal activities. Those activities represented the shady areas that arose in parallel with formal practices. These shady areas, in fact, complemented the official practices and discourses and conditioned the peculiarity of the modernization of the daily life of the small town. On the one hand, it was Soviet in nature and on the other hand, it was “out of Soviet”. The “out of Soviet” potion was a very unique phenomenon. It was not anti-Soviet, it was not specifically intended to oppose the state policy stemming from its ideological provisions, but it was outside the Soviet official discourses and practices and, at the same time, difficult to control.

This was a very interesting factor, which on the one hand brought the modernization of the society of this small Soviet-Armenian town closer to the global modernization processes in the world, but at the same time, kept it within the Soviet official borders, making deep differences.

In the post-Soviet period, the public areas of Sisian changed their public significance very quickly, at the same time eliminating all the collective practices that were typical of urban modernity. The peculiarity of the post-Soviet town is that it rejected its industrial identity but has not yet established a post-industrial one. This is the main problem of Sisian, as well as other small towns in Armenia.

## **TATEVIK SAROYAN**

*"Tatevik Saroyan is a museologist. For about 5 years (2007-2012) she has worked as an educator in the History Museum of Yerevan. As a researcher (2013-2014) she worked at the National Gallery of Armenia. In 2014, she was the head of the 'Department of Organization and Popularization of Exhibitions' at the Museum of Russian Art. In 2018 she was the 'Museum Component Coordinator' (10 regional museums) of the Smithsonian Institution of USAID "My Armenia" Program. In 2019, Tatevik coordinated the work of the RA President's annual award in the Urbanlab organization. Since 2019, she has been working at "Matenadaran", the Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts named after Mesrop Mashtots, as the head of the department of Public Relations.*

*In 2021, she became a PHD student of "Matenadaran" to study the scientific topic: "Coffee in the Armenian reality". Tatevik is one of the authors and the curator of the project "The Armenian Trajectory of Coffee Culture"( launched in 2010) at Hovhannes Tumanyan Museum in 2021.*

*She is one of the co-authors of the "Museums of Armenia and Artsakh" directory. 2008 - a member of the International Committee of Museums, ICOM. 2008- a member of the Board of the ICOM Armenia National Committee.*

## **COFFEE IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT: COMPARATIVE DESCRIPTION BIG AND SMALL CITIES ACCORDING TO THE MUSEUM MATERIALS OF ARMENIA**

Today it is difficult to imagine our everyday life without coffee. It has become the most needed drink of mankind. Thanks to coffee, people have the chance to meet others, chat and have a good time. According to well known opinions, coffee in Eastern Armenia was widely used after the 1940-50s immigration of Armenians. But the historical evidence tends to disagree. Historically, Eastern Armenians have been familiar with coffee since the 19th century. Coffee, being considered as a component of urban culture, was spread in the main cities of Armenia such as Alexandropol and Yerevan, mainly in cafes. The culture of coffee imported from Western Armenia found its unique manifestation among the intelligentsia.

The culture of the cafe came from the East. It was exclusively a gathering place for men, where they listened to music, played chess, participated in political discussions, and formed opposition ideas. Cafes were a meeting place for writers and creators due to which they were called “school of the wise” or “university”, where the young creators passed their exams in the presence of elders.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the cafes were the centers where people enjoyed the creations of ashughs (troubadours), where each cafe had its own ashugh or groups of ashughs. Cafes were also meeting places for writers and actors, centers of national education and upbringing, hidden places from political persecutions, that is, they were multifunctional structures. The cafes were famous for their architectural solutions and billboards that made them different from the other buildings of the city.

The appearance of the cafes imported new culture and approaches in urban life. It gave an opportunity to share the ideas of freedom in public places, becoming a platform of self-determination and establishment of a person. In the 60s and 70s of the 20th century, the rise of cafes on a large scale was a turning point, mainly in Yerevan, giving a chance to women to enter an area they had been banned from for centuries. The cafe became an institution of getting rid of stereotypes and developing new approaches.

Nowadays, the picture, of course, is different. Today's cafe environment is quite different from the culture existing 10 years ago and in diversity, it has its own unique expression of the dictates of the time.

The cafe is the socio-cultural platform that has changed the fastest, accumulating the features of the manners and tendencies of the given period.

### **ROMAN HOVSEPYAN**

*Specialization: archaeobotanist, ethnobotanist;*

*Affiliation: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography NAS, Armenia;*

*Position: Head of the Archaeobiology and Ethnobiology research group, senior research fellow;*

*Research interests: Prehistoric economies and environments of the South Caucasus, Near East and South-Eastern Europe in the past; Ethnobotany of Armenians, Yezidis, Kurds and Molokans (Russian); Agriculture- and weather-related rituals in Armenia.*

### **USE OF WILD PLANTS IN THE URBAN SETTLEMENTS OF SYUNIK (ARMENIA)**

As a result of ethnobotanical research (Arm. SC20TTSH-053) carried out in the urban settlement of Syunik's Kapan, Goris and Meghri, during different seasons of 2020-2021, we observed some specifics and common things, preliminary analyses and interpretations of which will be presented. The fieldwork investigation has been done by in-depth interviews conducted in individual urban households and by interviews and observations at trading units (permanent urban markets, shops, street vendors, etc.). Wild plants sold in the urban settlements and urban herbal markets serving the local population are representable for different aspects of wild plant use culture in the urban environment. The composition of wild plants, their usage, their manifestations, and the individual practices related to them are very diverse in the rural environment. Moving from different rural environments to urban environments, the practices of using wild plants are optimized (reduced) qualitatively and quantitatively.

## **EMMA PETROSYAN**

*Emma Petrosyan is a Doctor of Historical Sciences, and a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography ANA RA.*

### **ROPE-WALKING IN YEREVAN YESTERDAY AND TODAY**

Tightrope walking and walking on the stilts are one of the oldest traditional Armenian folk art. For the first time, the rope-walker image on the stilts is found in the IX – VI B.C. on the Urartian bronze belt. Later, David Anhaght (VI cent.) notes tightrope walking and stilts walking as a craft. “The Aramyany company” of rope-walkers under the leadership of Hovhannes Gasparyan was very famous in the XIX century in Constantinople. Rope walkers are vagants and perform on an open playground. The protector of this genre of art is Saint Karapet and performs the games in the courtyard of churches, in urban and rural squares. In old Yerevan the rope-walkers games were held on Tsakhi Square near the Ghantar Market: Each group had about 16 acrobatic and dance tricks. The competition was constant and fierce between the groups. The difficult numbers were honored not only by rope-walkers, but also by the residents of Yerevan. At the beginning of the 20th century, about 10 groups of rope-walkers used to perform in Yerevan. They mostly came from the village of Tapadibi (now Yeranjatap). Soon some of them settled in Yerevan. During the Soviet era, the Executive committee of Yerevan included rope-walkers in the House of culture. The amounts they collected during their performances ensured they lived a respectful life. Complex social changes began in the 90's of the 20th century. It led to the fact that rope-walkers didn't even collect the minimum amount from their performances. The reduction of numbers began, so the comic dialogue of the rope-walker and the jester were forgotten. The difficult trick dirak nobody can do. New changes began taking place; The zurna and the drum were replaced by a soundtrack, the hemp rope was replaced by a metal tram hawser, the spring was removed from the tractor, and the rope-walker now wore sport shoes instead of performing barefoot. Tightrope walking had now become a non-prestigious art. Currently, only two groups of rope-walkers perform in Yerevan, and they have preserved some traditional techniques.

## **PANEL 11: MUSIC IN THE CITY**

### **RIK ADRIAANS - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Dr. Rik Adriaans is a Lecturer in Media Anthropology at University College London. His doctoral research examined the relations between image production, media technologies and diasporic recognition struggles in the transnational circuits that connect post-Soviet Armenia to the Armenian diaspora in Los Angeles. He also maintains an ongoing interest in the ethnography of popular music and digital culture in Armenia and Hungary. His most recent research project is an ethnographic study of modular synthesizer culture.*

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## **HRIPSIME PIKICHIAN**

*Hripsime Pikichian is an assistant professor at the Department of Cultural Studies at the Yerevan State University, and the head of the Ethnic Musicology Group at the Institute of Arts, Academy of Sciences of Armenia. She received her PhD in Cultural/Social Anthropology in 2006 from the Institute of Archaeology & Ethnography.*

### **THE URBAN LIFE OF TRADITIONAL MUSIC: ETHNOGRAPHIC OBSERVATIONS**

The article discusses the process of spreading and transforming the components of the Armenian traditional way of life through music, dance and ritual in the urban environment. From ethnographic festivals initiated by the Yerevan Polytechnic Institute to regular Armenian dance classes in the Cascade and the "Gutan" Festival, this article will cover it all. In this context, issues related to the transformations that have taken place in urban family and public festive life, modern interpretations of the genre and performance of traditional rural music, and perceptions of identity are discussed. In the context of identity validation and presentation, the transition from traditional rituals, music and

dance from natural life to self-made ensembles, the introduction of their transformed and staged versions into urban life, and then the return to the rural environment are considered.

## **LUSINE HAYRIYAN**

*Lusine Hayriyan is a folklorist, research assistant at NAS RA Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography at the Department of Theory and history of Folklore. She has a PhD in Philology. Her thematic frame includes multilateral interrelations of oral and literary traditions, reciprocal influence of folklore and literature and rituals and beliefs in Armenian folk tales.*

## **FOLKLORE TEXTS OF URBAN ROMANCE**

Armenian traditional music has three main branches: rural, urban folk music, and the art of folk-professionals – gousans, or ashughs. The history of the publication of Armenian folk songs is memorable, mainly thanks to the prevalence of rural narratives, folklore, and songs. The field of songwriting, known as “urban folklore” or “urban music”, is best known for its materials from the 19th to 21st centuries. Urban musical folklore differs from its predecessor rural oral tradition in a number of peculiarities. Urban lyrical folklore, is a cultural phenomenon unique to a later age compared to the rural one, created in literary or colloquial language, practiced mostly in urban areas. Although the great Komitas Vardapet accepted rural music and art of singing as a pure folkloric branch, considering songwriting in the bosom of nature as a natural gift of a peasant learning from nature, and rather skeptically referred to the urban musical folklore (which was not, however, just the approach of Armenian authors: F. Dostoevsky had strong neglect towards urban romance, characterizing it with derogatory terms like “song art of pubs” or “false folklore”). Nevertheless, this field of folk music with its unique manifestations remains in the research area of musicologists, ethnographers and folklorists-philologists. The Armenian urban music folklore composed upon folk-authorial poetic texts (in colloquial or literary language) expressed the characteristic features of the urban environment and lived within the city. Typical elements of romance are noticeable in some samples of Armenian urban music, which can be explained by the influence of some features of European and Russian music. It should be noted that even Romanos Melikyan, who was the creator of the Armenian classical romance as an independent genre of national chamber-vocal music in the Armenian reality, relied on folk song, in particular, on two types of Armenian folk music: urban musical folklore and folk-professional music (his song series “Autumn Lines” composed 1908-1914 is based on urban musical folklore).

In the framework of this report, we will try to highlight the commonalities and peculiarities of the textual structures of rural and urban folk songs, their semantic-ideological basis, word-constructing means of expression, the manifestations of formulaic thinking, romance given birth to the author’s song and to rabis. We will also cover stylistic influence of chançon and urban songs of other nations upon Armenian romance, the process of transformation of traditional and modern urban music culture and a number of other issues.

## **RIMA TIGRANIAN**

*Rima Tigranyan is a musicologist, who graduated from the Department of Musicology of the Yerevan State Conservatory. She holds a master's degree. Then she graduated from YSU Faculty of History with a Master's degree in Cultural Anthropology. Now she is going to become a researcher at the Institute of Archeology and Ethnography NAS of Armenia. Her scientific interests include jazz in the field of cultural musicology.*

## **JAZZ PORTRAIT OF YEREVAN: UNDERGROUND, FRONTLINE AND ELITE**

In the report I will present jazz in Yerevan with its underground, frontal different layers, which will present the jazz mapping of Yerevan. This will be viewed from the point of view of the study of urban deviant subcultures. "Three-story" jazz Yerevan will be underlined. The motives of the underground and front lines will be discussed in the context of the motives of Soviet and post-Soviet politics and entertainment culture.

## **MIKAYEL ZOLYAN**

*Mikayel Zolyan received his candidate of sciences degree (equivalent to Ph.D.) from Yerevan State University in 2005. Since then he has worked as a historian and a political analyst, focusing on issues of nationalism, conflict, politics of memory as well as processes of democratization. After a short detour as a politician in the aftermath of the Armenian revolution, he is now trying to return into the academic world and explore new horizons of research.*

### **THE DJ AS A SHAMAN: ELEMENTS OF ARCHAIC RITUAL/CELEBRATION IN ARMENIAN RAVE CULTURE**

The article describes the phenomenon of Armenian rave culture, which has its roots in the 1990s, but has become especially prominent in Armenia after the events of 2018. After an overview of the development of rave culture in Armenia, I proceed to describe my experiences and observations from electronic dance music events in Armenia. As I argue in the paper, these events have a lot in common with archaic ceremonies/celebrations. From the guards at the gates to the DJs at the decks, and to individual ravers, everyone has their specific role and function in this celebration of life. The music, the lighting, the general atmosphere helps the raves to access a certain trance-like state, which is similar to the descriptions of archaic rituals in various cultures. I also talk about possible ways to develop this research further.

## **PANEL 12: URBAN (POST)FOLKLORE**

### **SVETLANA TAMBOVTSEVA - PANEL DISCUSSANT**

*Svetlana Tambovtseva, M. A. in Anthropology at the European University at St. Petersburg, and a Ph.D. candidate in Folklore Studies (Russian Academy of Science, the Pushkin House), currently working on a dissertation on the textual culture of religious dissent in Russia, and teaching a Social Anthropology minor at the Higher School of Economics. Apart from academic studies, I've also been involved as a researcher in a number of applied jobs and projects in forensic linguistics, urban studies and customer experience.*

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## **MARINE KHACHATRYAN**

*Marine Khachatryan is an art critic and researcher. She writes articles for the Critical Review online cultural journal and Enlight Public Research Center. She has graduated from the Art History Department of Yerevan State University and the Political Science and International Affairs program of the American University of Armenia. Her interests include issues of culture and contemporary art criticism, philosophical theories, which are sometimes combined with discussions of socio-political issues in her articles.*

### **CITY AND LANGUAGE**

The article looks for reasons for the deficiency of linguistic diversity in Yerevan, taking into account the fact that there are great numbers of people migrating to the capital but their dialects are not generally heard in the streets. Yerevan seems to swallow all the dialects leaving only the Yerevan dialect. An attempt is made to assert that one of the main reasons for the weakening of dialects is the established hierarchy between languages.

## **NVARD VARDANYAN**

*Nvard Vardanyan is a folklorist. She has a Ph.D. in Philology. She is an associate professor at the Chair of Armenian Literature in Yerevan State University, Senior Researcher at the department of the Folklore of Institute of Archeology and Ethnography NAS RA. Her research interests are Folklore, Folk Tales, Folk Songs, and Epic. She also is an author of more than 35 Scientific Works and 2 Monographs.*

### **SCHOOLGIRL NOTEBOOK FOLKLORE AS URBAN SUBCULTURE**

During the last decades of the last century, the culture of keeping notebooks was widespread in the urban environment among schoolgirls. Such notebooks were full of various folklore expressions typical of schoolchildren: memoirs, games, various formulas for school life, fortune-telling games, questionnaires, and more. In the center was the genre called “memory”, which usually consisted of two to six lines, rhyming texts, very similar to traditional ditties, which were memorized, copied from other notebooks, or written by classmates. The tradition of girls’ notebooks still seems to continue today, but it is very different from similar manifestations of the last century.

This type of written folklore has been extensively studied in the works of foreign theorists. It is usually referred to as post-folklore or subculture (Neklyudov). Like many types of modern folklore, notebook folklore has not been studied in the Armenian reality to date.

Of course, this culture of schoolgirls’ notebooks is not unique to the city. It was also widespread in rural areas, but apparently, like other manifestations of written folklore, passed from town to village. The main material of our study will be the schoolgirls notebooks created in Yerevan in the 80s and 90s of the 20th century, as well as materials recorded from different informants about this subculture. Schoolgirls of this generation are mature women today, some of whom still fondly keep their school notebooks.

The report will consider the peculiarities of Armenian schoolgirls’ folklore notebooks, the period and environment of their creation, the genre-thematic manifestations, structure and content of the notebooks. The poetics of notebook folklore, the expressions typical to traditional speech in them, the folk expressions typical to school-age psychology will all be examined in detail.

## **HAYKUHI MURADYAN**

*Haykuhi Muradyan is a cultural anthropologist. Since 2013 she has been lecturing at Yerevan State University, Department of Cultural Studies. Her academic interests cover the anthropology of politics, anthropology of Soviet policies, cultural policy and heritage studies.*

### **THE PALACE OF SOVIET CULTURE IN THE DISCOURSE OF THE URBAN POPULATION: BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE CULTURE PALACE OF ABOVYAN CITY)**

The report is dedicated to the discussion of the Soviet Culture Palace as a center for the formation and dissemination of a new urban culture. During the presentation, the formation, establishment and activity of the Chamber of Culture as one of the main centers for the formation of urban culture will be presented. The formation, activity and significance of the Abovyan City Palace of Culture in the context of the formation of the city (1963) will be considered in particular. The memories of people connected to the activities of the Palace of Culture are multi-layered, connected with different stages of life, and different feelings. Surveys show that the Palace of Culture was a place of consolidation, integration and adaptation of urban culture, which on the one hand created new cultural values (sharing values), and on the other, became a place of dissemination and publicity of those values. It covered all sections of the urban population and target groups, from children to retirees. The Urban Palace of Culture united the population of the neighboring villages, moving from the village to the city, who were adapting and assimilating to the new culture. At the same time, rural cultural values had been adapted to urban culture. In the case of the city of Abovyan, the peculiarities of the formation of the urban population can also be considered. Where did the main population come from? What values did they bring? How was the urban culture formed? In this context, this study examines the role and significance of the Palace of Culture as a structure that organizes urban life.

During the presentation we will discuss the programs and content created within the Palace of Culture and the memories of the people associated with that content. The research was conducted in Abovyan. The research is based on the complex use of in-depth interviews, observation methods and archival materials